MODERN
POLICIES,

Taken from *Machiavel*, *Borgia*, and other choice Authors, by an eye witnesse.

Hom. Αλλα τα μεν τοσα, ὁ θεὸς ὁπως ἐθελει, τελεσθαι ἐοικε· ἐγω δε ἐρεω ἁ δοκεει μοι ἐμμεναι ἐπι τοισδε· ἐγω γαρ ἐμαυτον ἐκ παιδος ἐοντα ἐς τοδε ἀγω, ἐς τὸ ἀκουειν μαλλον ἡ ἐπιστασθαι· ἐπιστασθαι δε ὀλιγα· ἀκουειν δε πολλα· ἐπιστασθαι δε ἐκ τουτων

POLICIES

To my very good Lord
My Lord *R. B. E.*

My Lord,

was never so proud, as to think I could write any thing that might abide the test of your judicious eye; what I now send, appeals to your Candor, intreating you to lay aside the person

ſon of a Iudge, for that of a Friend It is at beſt but a Phamphlet, whether you conſider its bulke, or worth: The reſult of a few penſive houres ſpent in recollecting what the memorie had regiſtred from publike obſervance, or private reading in a Theme ſo ſadlie copious as this is: If it be not impertinent to tell you what hinted to this trifle, it

was

was this; Having had opportunity to looke abroad into the world, I tooke some notice of the Contrastos, of the Italian Princes; I remark'd the *Spaniards* griping *Portugal*, his grounds for the challenge of that Kingdom, and his way of managing those grounds; I lookt upon his method of propagating Christianity in the West: (where one

ſaies the Indian is bound to be religious and poore upon pain of death.) Moreover, I obſerved with what Artifice the Pope moderated in the European quarrels, and with what devices he twiſted the Goſpell, and the Advantage of the Chaire together; and in all the ſtruglings and diſputes, that have of late years befalne this corner of the

the World, I found that although the pretence was fine and ſpirituall, yet the ultimate end, and true ſcope, was gold, and greatneſs, and ſecular glory.

But (my Lord) to come nearer, when I ſaw Kingdomes tottering, one Nation reeling againſt another, yea, one peece of a Nation juſtling the other, and ſplit into ſo many parties, and

petty enmities: and each of these quoting Bible to palliate his mad, and exorbitant opinions; I sigh'd, and it grieved mee to see popular easinesse, and well-meaning, abus'd by Ambitious self-seeking men; for there is a Generation that is born to bee the plague, and disquiet, and scourge of the Age it lives in; that gladly sacrifice the publike peace to

private intereſt; and when they ſee all fired, with ioy warme their hands at thoſe unhappy flames, which themſelves kindle, tuning their merry Haps, when others are weeping over a kingdomes funerall.

But above all, it pierced my heart to ſee the Clergy in ſuch an high degree acceſſory to the civill diſtempers, and con-

tentions that have every where shak'd the Foundations of Church and State; so that (as a Catholike noted) there hath been no floud of misery but did spring from, or at least was much swel'd by their Holy-water. I searched Evangelicall Records, and there was nothing but milde and soft Doctrines; I inquired into the breathings of

the Spirit, and they were pacificatory; I wondred from what Presidents and Scripture incouragements these men . deduc'd their practises, and at last was forced to conclude, that they were only pretended Chaplaines to the Prince of Peace; Those Torches that should have been for saving Light, were degenerated into firebrands; Those Trumpets

pets that should have sounded retreats to popular furies, knew no other musicke but Marshall All-armes.

I have endeavoured in the sequell to represent to you the Arts of Ambition, by giving you the picture of a person over-covetous of glory; the peice is course, but yet like; drawne onely in water colours, which some of greater Leisure amd Abi-

Abilities may possibly hereafter lay in oyle.

You know that the desires of man are vast as his thoughts, boundless as the Ocean, Πίθος ἀτειμμένος, ἀπέρατος ἐπιθυμίας, A bored tub is not more insatiate. Tis pity that greatnesse should at any time be out of the Rode of goodnesse; and I would sometimes, if I durst, with *Socrates*. *Iamblichus.*

Socrates curse him that first separated profitable & honest.

It does to me a little relish of Paradox, that where ever I come, *Machiavell* is verbally curs'd and damn'd, and yet practically imbrac'd and asserted; for there is noe Kingdome but hath a Race of men that are ingenious at the perill of the publike; so that as one said of *Galba* in respect

ſpect of his crooked body: *Ingenium Galbæ malè habitat*; ſo may I ſay of theſe in regard of their crooked uſe; That wit could not have choſen a worſe manſion, then where it is vitiated, and made a Pander to wickedneſſe.

If you aske mee what I mean to trouble the world, that is already under ſuch a glut of Books? You may eaſily perceive that

that I consulted not at all with advantaging my name, or wooing publike esteeme by what I now write; I knew there was much of naked truth in it, and though it might possibly be of some caution to prevent the insinuation of pious frauds, and Religious fallacies into my native Country: If any plaine-hearted, honest man, shall cast away

way an houre in perusing it, he may perhaps finde something in it resembling his owne thoughts, and not altogether strange to his owne experience. It is not the least of our misfortunes, that sins and vices are oft times endear'd to us by false Titles and Complements; being cousened with a specious name, though much incoherent to the

the thing we aſcribe it: or elſe, omitting the vice which is the maine, it intimates onely the vertue, which is the By: As for example, wee call an ambitious man μεγαλεπιβολος, a perſon of notable aime, and high enterprize; whereas in truth, it ſignifies, an indirect affectour of Grandeur: And I finde that by incautelous intertainement of theſe Phraſes,

Phraſes, our judgments are often brib'd to miſapprehenſions, & wee ſeduc'd to bad actions. I have endeavoured in the enſuing diſcourſe to wipe off the paint and fucus: that ſo things may appeare in their true complexion, unadulterated with the ſlights and ſubtilties of Deluders.

My Lord, That your Lordſhip may be one of thoſe which the

the darke Poet calls δὶς ἥβησαντα, that the youth of your Honours may be renewed to you, that your happines may be acquainted with noe other ſeaſon but a ſpring, is the earneſt vote

Of your

bounden

SERVANT.

THe name of Prince, which I often use, must be understood, as convertible with any person, or persons, whom God hath intrusted with a just supremacy: all the dialects of Government being concerned in the Abuse; I have made the chiefe, and most familiar to represent the rest.

I am not ignorant, that the Quotations may justly seeme more numerous than Method, and the Rules of Art will conveniently allow; I have this to say, to vindicate me from affectednesse; that I have beene little

little ſtudious of Elegance, and curioſity in the Compoſure; eſteeming nakedneſſe to be the beſt dreſs of truth: and if I miſtake not, thoſe attendants I have here procured for her, may afford ſome materiall, though little ornamentall advantage.

A

A Præmonition.

IT is farre from the deſigne of this Treatiſe, to derogate from the honour of the calling, or worth of the perſon of any ſober Stateſman; 'Tis a knowledge that no man obſerves with more due reſpects then my ſelfe; Becauſe, I know it is noe meane degree eſſentiall to the peace, and flouriſhing condition of a Kingdome or Common-wealth. 'Tis a jewell to be lock'd up in ſome few rare Cabinets, and

and not to be made cheape, and expos'd to irreverence, by being barred, and prostituted to every vulgar eye. The Pseudo-Policy *here mention'd is contradistinct to that science, which is ever built upon piety and prudence; for upon these solid Bases, your wise Architect delights to raise the glorious superstructure of government in a Prince, and subjection in a people: so knitting the Interest of both with reciprocall mixture, that the welfare of the one may be involv'd in the good of the other: that Majesty may be preserv'd in its just splendor, and yet*

the

the Liberty of the Subject remain inviolate: Hee is the Atlas *of the falling State, cures it when ſicke, ſets it when diſ-joynted, meets it in its ſeverall preſſures with ſutable reliefs. Such was* Philip de Commines, *of whom one ſaid, it was a meaſuring caſt, whether* Lewis *were the wiſer King, or* Philip *the wiſer Counſellor: ſuch was* Burleigh *to our late Queen* Elizabeth, *whoſe advice had very eminent influence into the proſperity of her raign, which was ſuch, as I believe few ages can parallel, and future times will read her happy Annals, as*

written like Xenophon's Cyrus, Non ad historiæ fidem, sed ad exemplum justi imperii; *So that if we love Peace, or Plenty, or Liberty, we are bound in way of acknowledgment to owne that in* Plutarch, τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνθρωπος ἐκτᾶται τελειοτέραν.

Cato Major.

But as the corruption of the best things makes them worst, so this noble knowledge has beene abused to loose and ambitious ends, by some men who seem to have suck'd the venome out of all politicks, misapplying what was good, and creating new, according to the urgency of their own occasions, like the

Ophyogenes, & Psylli.

Lawes

Lawes that were made in Cauſinus *his* Babel, *to be rul'd by manners, and not manners by Lawes. They vex true Policy by miſinterpreting, and falſe gloſſing; framing in their hearts* Diana's *of hypocriſy and ſubtilty, and worſhiping them in their actions.*

Furialibus commentariis illuſtrant.

The Rules following there are few ſo ſilly as to beleive, though too many ſo wicked as to practiſe; and not onely ſo, but by a bold impoſture to perſwade that ſuch actions as are deduc'd from theſe principles, are juſtifiable, and if fortunate, commendable.

That all may ſee theſe

Rocks, and ſhun them, and deteſt knavery though never ſo ſpecious, and nauſeate ſinne, though robed in ſucceſſes and triumphs, is my daily prayer.

First

First Principle.

The Politician must have the shadow of Religion, but the substance hurts.

THere is no superstition in politicks more odious, then to stand too much upon niceties and scruples: and therefore *Machiavel* cut the haire, when he advis'd, not absolutely to disavow conscience, but to manage it with such a

prudent neglect, as is ſcarce diſcernable from a tenderneſſe: not permitting it to be techy and reluctıng, nor yet proſtituting it, unleſſe upon ſolemne and inſuperable occaſion: Hee notes it from *Papirius* in *Livy*, who ſlighted the *Pullarii* handſomly, and was rewarded; whereas *Appius Pulcher* did it groſly, and was puniſhed.

But becauſe the Polititian is beſt able to tell his own documents, you may pleaſe to conceive you found theſe broken diſcourſes in his ſtudy:

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to each of which I shall adde an Antidote. Externall holinesse invites awfull regards; There is no mask that becomes Rebellion and Innovation so well as Religion; Nothing that so much conceals deformity, and pretends beauty. 'Tis an excellent thing so to dissimulate piety, that when we act strongly against it, in that very article of wickednesse the people Saint us: *Herod* would faine worship, when he means to worry:

— *Ipsa sceleris Molimine,*
Tereus
creditur esse pius:

This is that which leads the World in a string, that hallowes the most hellish enterprises: for the common people (which are the [illegible]) never see behind the curtain, a handsome glosse is with them as good as the Text: I believe the great Naturalist was in the right, when he call'd a Deity a jolly invention, *Prudendum, agere curam rerum humanarum quicquid est summi, sed tradi ex usu vitæ est.* Let me enjoy the temporal advantages of Religion, and let others take the eternall; Let me use it for a cloak

Plin. l. 2. c. 7.

or

or a Crutch, and let others expect from it a Crown.

The River in *Athenæus* is my emblem, whose upper waters were sweet and gratefull, but towards the bottom brackish. Let me be a superficiall, let others be fundamentall Christians: I like the humour of the *Samscans* in *Epiphanius*, that were neither *Jewes* nor *Gentils*, nor *Christians*, but preserving a *commodious* correspondence with all: whatsoever I act in reference to Heaven is meerely theatricall; and done in subor-

43 *Fons in Mileto, cujus profluens aqua dulcissima, quæ vero in imo salsa.*

dination to some other interest. *Lycurgus* could never have ingratiated his Lawes so effectually, if he had not pretended a Dialogue wth his Goddesse: 'Tis to me indifferent, whether the Religion I personate be true or false, so it be but popular: and if the people I meane to juggle with err fundamentally, I can by no means court them more, then by imbracing their delusion; It buckles them very close to me in morall observance, to assist them in their spiritual soundnes, and mix with their distemper;

ſtemper; and therefore I commonly lead the Van in the Faction, and call it *Jure Divino*, though I never found it but in Hells blacke Canons. How comfortably the *Pope* and *Cardinall* confer'd notes, —— *Quantum nobis lucri peperit illa fabula de Chriſto!* O the rich income and glorious reſult of hypocriſie! This, this muſt be diligently ſtudyed and practis'd.

—— *Da juſtum ſanctumq; videri,*
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.

Privacy

Privacy for a ſinne, and cleanly conveyance for a cheat, make it to common eyes ſeeme as white as innocency it ſelfe: the ſtrictneſs of that Thiefe was very notable, who alwaies before he went about the worke of his calling (for ſo he call'd ſtealing) went to prayers that God would bleſſe and proſper him: ſo I ſay grace to the deſign, be it never ſo wicked, and give thanks for the ſucceſſe, be it never ſo bloudy.

But further in ſubſerviency to a looſe intereſt, there muſt be no ſuch

puling

puling thing as conſcience; Hell, and Heaven, and Scripture, and what elſe the Chriſtian eſteems moſt ſacred, muſt all truckle under the plot, but not be obſerv'd when they come to oppoſe it: Had *Alexander* boggled at invading other mens Kingdomes, hee had never wept for the ſcarcity of Worlds. There is no greater obſtacle to generous actions, then a coy and ſquemiſh conſcience; Tis pretty that ſome tel us that it ſtrikes *ſurdo verbere*, and then how can it be heard in

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the noise and bustle of a clamourous World? Had your mighty Conquerours, and your valiant Captaines, and your thriving Popes, listned to this inward Charmer, their names had never swell'd, and look'd bigg in the Roolls of Fame.

Cola-

Colasterion.

BUt let all sober Christians know, that this shell of Religion, though it may be of externall conducement, yet there is nothing that Gods pure and undeluded eye looks on with more abhorrency: We may possibly deceive men, but tis in vain to put Ironies upon God. A counterfeit Religion shall find a real Hell, and 'tis pitty that such a Sacred thing should be *violenc'd*, and made to obstetricate to rebellious irregular designes.

The Cynic to a coward in armes, *Cur tu non definis virtutis frangula pudefacere.*

As

As for ſuch who have conſpir'd with the wrath of God in the ſtupefaction of their conſciences, though they may for a time ſtruggle with thoſe inward checks, yet there will be a day (if not in this life) when that witneſſe, that Judg, that Jury will not be bribed. God hath fix'd it in the ſoul as an eteruall Regiſter, as an impartiall Diary, as the *Cenſor* of the affections, and Pædagogue of the paſſions. It does not only illuſtrate divine juſtice in an *Antecatacriſy*, but was meant by God for a bridle and reſtricti-

Origen.

on:

on: And he that hath by an inveterate wickednes conquerd the oppoſition which God ſeated in his heart to ſin, may poſſibly conſult well with his preſent advantage and greatneſſe, but not at all with his future comfort; for beſides the loſſe of that intimate pleaſure which waites upon innocency; He feels ſometimes thoſe boſome quarrels that verberate and wound his ſoule, — for

Vinum in pectore.

ἡ συνείδησις τὴν ψυχὴν πλήττει.

Prin-

Principle II.

The Politician must by all means make the most insinuating applications to the people that hee can; and lock up his owne designe, in pretence for Religion, Liberty, Restitution of Laws, Reformation of Gabels, &c.

THE prosperity of Innovation depends in a high measure upon the right knack of kindling and fomenting jealousies and dislikes in the people; and then weilding those grudges to

to the favor and advantage of private ends; for the people are to the Polititian like tools to the Mechanick, he can performe nothing without them, they are his wings, his wheels, his Implements, the properties that he acts with.

That this may be done effectually, there must be an excellency in these following slights.

First, To assign such a cause of grievances, and such a course for redress, as may open a way to the alteration he ayms at: as if he means to alter the Government, or to ingross.

groſs the Supremacy, he muſt artificially convince of a neceſſity to arme, 1. Defenſively, and if that ſucceeds, 2. Offenſively; This hee may doe by falſe alarms of danger, inventing horrid News, and plying the people with ſuch fictitious perils, as may make them believe, Religion and Liberty, and All is at ſtake, and that they are the Geeſe that muſt ſave the Capitoll.

Secondly, When he ſees opportunity to reveal his own deſign, hee muſt doe it gradually, and by peece-meal, for that

ἐκ προσαγωγῆς.

that which at one view would be a Mormo to fright them, give it them in ſmall parts and they will digeſt it well enough.

Thirdly, Hee muſt compoſe his very garb and geſture, 'tis a great matter to tell a lye with a grace, as if Religion be the Mode, he muſt in his tales knock his breaſt, atteſt God, and invoke imprecations upon himſelfe, if he does not doe that which he never intends.

Fourthly, Hee gives them good words and bad actions, like thoſe the

the Hiſtorian brands with a *Crudelitatem damnatis, crudelitatem initis*, raviſhes them with apprehenſions of Liberty, under the higheſt ſtrain of oppreſſion, for it is moſt certain if you pleaſe them with the name, they will imbrace it for name and thing. Something like this had beene impoſed upon *Rome*, when the Orator writ to his Freind *Atticus*, —— *Nomina rerum perdidimus, & licentia militaris libertas vocatur*, that they were cheated in names, for military Licence was miſcal'd

Ingenioſi muſcipulatores.

miscal'd Liberty; This is wel describ'd by *Plautus* in *Truculento.*

In melle sunt linguæ sitæ vestræ, atq; orationes,

Lacteq; : corda felle sunt sita, atq; acerbo aceto.

E linguis dicta dulcia datis, at corde amarè factis.

Fifthly, He observes that they receive probabilities wisely propounded, more greedily then naked truths: and therefore he is very studious to glase and polish his *Impostures*, that so they may to a loose eye dissemble

ſemble truth, according to that of *Pindar*,

——— Βροτῶν φρένα ———
ὑπὲρ τὰ ἀληθῆ λόγον,
δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις,
ἐξαπατῶντι μύθοι:

Or that of *Menander*,
τὸ πιθανὸν ἴσχον τῆς ἀληθείας
ἔχει ἐνίοτε μείζω, καὶ πιθανίτερον
ὄχλῳ.

Sixthly, When hee hath by the aſſiſtance of thepeople got the ſword into his owne hands, he awes them with it, and frights them into future complyance. Hee that courted them before, with all the adulatory termes, that ambition could invent, or they receive; as if he had been vow'd

vow'd their Martyr, and ready to sacrifice his deareſt enjoyments upon the Altar of publick liberty and freedome; as if his veines knew no other blood, but ſuch as he would be proud to ſpend in their ſervice, having now ſerved himſelf of them, he forgets the boſome that warm'd him, they hear from him now in a Palinode, hee curles up his ſmooth complements into ſhort Laconics, and exchanges his Court-ſhip for command.

Colasterion.

FIrſt, We may be aſſured that there is no greater Index of ambition, then an affectation of popularity: which appears in meek addreſſes to the people, wooing and familiar condeſcentions, bemoaning their ſufferings, commending a more vigorous ſenſe of them; that of the *Comic* is no bad rule,

Non temerarium eſt, ubi dives blande appellat pauperem,
Altera manu fert lapidem, panem oſtentat altera:
Nemini credo qui longe blandu'ſt dives pauperi.

Or

Or that which *Livy* notes of a Grandee, *Credebant haud gratuitam in tantâ superbiâ comitatem fore*, the extreame kindneſſe or fawning of great perſons, is alwaies ſuſpicious, becauſe often fraudulent: remember the *Sileni* that uſe to kill with huggs and embraces.

Secondly, Know it's very uſuall for men to perſonate goodneſſe, till they have accomplished their ends; 'tis obſerved of *Appius*, when he had his wiſh, *Finem fecit gerendæ alienæ perſonæ*; 'tis an old note,

Maxima pars morem hunc homines habent, quod sibi volunt,

Dum id impetrant boni sunt, sed id ubi jam penes sese habent,

Ex bonis pessimi, & fraudulentissimi sunt.

Athenæus tells a pretty story, of one *Athenion*, born obscurely, who as long as hee was private and poor, excelled in a soft and tractable disposition, but when by jugling he had obtained the *Athenian* Government, there was none more odious for a cruel, covetous, and barbarick tyranny: as it is reported of *Caligula*, there was never

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a better Servant, and a worse Master.

Thirdly, We know that a good aime, much less a good pretence cannot justifie a bad action, aud therefore we ought to be as Solicitous about the lawfulnesse of the meanes, as about the goodnesse of the end: it is a *Maxim* in Morality, that *bonum oritur ex integris*, and in Christianity, that wee must not doe evil that good may come of it; & we may possibly rescue our selves from future cousenage, if we examine the lawfulnesse of every circumstance

leading to the end propounded, before we are tickled and transported with the beauty of the pretence.

Prin-

Principle III.

If the Supremacy be invaded, the Lapses of the former Magistrate must be inculcated with the greatest advantage, and what is wanting in reality, must be supplyed in Calumny.

IT cannot easily be imagined of what singular importance the aspersing and blotting of a Prince is, to boyl up popular discontent to that height which is requisite for a rebellion; and here it must diligent

ly be enquired if there have not beene indeed such lapses, as have gal'd the people; and though they be old sores and skin'd, yet they must be searcht and refreshed, and exasperated with all the urging circumstances, that come within the invention of scandal; It must be remembred, if any persons of publick note, have suffer'd under the Sword of Justice, whose crimes can by Art or eloquence be extenuated, whose hard measure must be mentioned with teares, that so old Traytors may be pro-

pounded

pounded for new *Martyrs*. This hath been the ordinary Method of Ambition, as you may find it noted by a great Scholar in these words, ——*Fuit hæc omnibus sæculis, & adhuc est ad occupandum tyrannidem expeditissima via, dum summa se amore, ac pietate in patriam esse simulant, principum vitia, & populi miseriam, apud suos primùm, deinde palam querebundâ voce lamentantur, non quò plebem, cujus solius commodis inservire videri volunt, ab illo servitutis jugo asserant in libertatem; sed quò popularî aurâ subnixi, aditum sibi* Barclay contra Monarch. 30.

& jamnã ad eam ipsã dignitatem, nequiora aliquando ausuri patefaciant. And therefore if the Prince be severe, he gives him *Nero's* brand, a man kneaded up of dirt and blood: if he be of parts and contrivance, he calls it pernicious ingenuity: If he be mild and favourable to tender consciences, he declaims against his toleration: If he urge uniformity, and decency in Divine service, he rails at his Superstition. And because there is no such æquilibrious vertue, but has some flexure to one of the extreams, he is very

ry carefull to publish the extream alone, and to silence the vertue.

But if the Prince hath by carriage of extraordinary innocence, vindicated himself from obloquy (which shall scarce be, if small faults be rightly improved) then *Machiavels* advice must be follow'd, to calumniate stoutly, till the people have entertained something to his prejudice: 'Tis a Figure in Politics to make every infirmity a fault, and every fault a crime: and if the people be disposed to alteration, these must be.

Candida vita.

be first urged against a Monarch to depose him, or if need be to murther him, which is commendable if you can dresse him up like a Tyrant, as you may find it justified by an honest *Scot*, who complaines that there are not some glorious rewards appointed for Tyrannicides: and by the best of Orators, — *Græcos Deorum honores tribuisse iis, qui Tyrannos necaverunt*, and by the Tragedian,

Buchanan.

Pro Milone.

Victima haud ulla amplior potest.

Hercules furens.

Magisve

Magisve opima mactari Jovi,
Quam Rex iniquus.

And secondly, these personall faults must be artificially devolved upon *Monarchy* it self.

There remaines to dispersse the commendations of that Government which is intended for a Successor: if *Aristocracy*, the long-liv'd prosperity of *Sparta* and *Venice*, is a very plausible evidence of its goodnes: If *Democracy*, the happines of the *Romanes* under their Tribunes is very memorable; to which may

Upon *Livy*, p. 22.

may be added this out of *Machiavel*: that they are the moſt futable guardians of any thing, who are leaſt deſirous to uſurp it: and without doubt conſidering the ſigns of the Nobility and the people, wee muſt confeſſe that the firſt are very ambitious of rule, the laſt deſire onely not to be oppreſt.

Cola-

Colasterion.

I Presume that person is very rare, that can boast of such an absolute Saintship whilst he is amongst mortals, but that there will now and then some actions fall from him, which confesse humanity, and require Candor: some leaves in the volume of the fairest life, that are *Legenda cum venia*: If this be a common frailty, why do we fix such rigid censures upon the miscarriages of Princes? or why do we deny them the same mild-

mildneſs which we uſe, when we commiſerate the infirmities of other men? 'Tis yet much more diſingenious to revive and pore upon a few bad actions, which it may be have been long ago expiated with many good: Take this from no mean Statiſt—— *Iniqua in omni re accuſanda, prætermiſſis bonis, malorum enumeratio, vitiorumque ſelectio; nam ne ullus quidem iſto modo magiſtratus vituperabilis non erit.*

As greatneſſe gives a gloſſe to the vertues of a Prince, ſo it mitigates his vices; for if we look upon

on him as circled with honour, and all outward enjoyment; we see withal that *variety* of temptations he hath to struggle with above others, having no other Guard, no other weapon then his meer vertue; sometimes we are defended from a sin by our very impotency, it may be above our sphere, or out of our reach; we do not, because we cannot; how often are our wils offenders, when our hands are innocent? wee are checked from without, he commonly from within, having nothing to dispute with his

immoderate

immoderate desires but himselfe: This is that which inhances the goodnesse of a Prince, as that excellent Poet leads his Temperate Knight through al the delicacies and charms of pleasure, and delivers him a Conquerour.

Spencer.

But suppose a Magistrate really tyrannical; it is no contemptible question, Whether the evils of the redress may not be equivalent to the mischiefe. I remember *Livi's*, *Nec morbum ferre possumus, nec remedium*: and *Plutarchs*, χεῖρον εἶναι μοναρχίας παρανόμου πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον,

and *Tacitus*, *Ferenda Regum ingenia, neque usui esse crebras mutationes: vitia erunt donec homines, sed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu pensantur*; and *Seneca*, *Infeliciter ægrotat, cui plus periculi à medico quam à morbo*. Poise the miseries of a civil Warr with the grievances of an unjust Magistrate, and the Polititian must take many graines of allowance from fallacy to make the scales even; for though the fury of incensed tyranny may fal heavy upon many particulars, yet the bloody consequences

χαλεποὶ πόλεμοι ἀδελφῶν. Arist. Pol. 7.

sequences of an inteſtine Sword, are more epidemicall, and more permanent.

As to the charging the faults of a Governour upon the Government its ſelf, I ſee nothing in it but deluſion, nor can there be a more groſſe abuſe, then τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολιτείαν ὑπὸ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα μεταφέρειν. *Iſocrates.*

For King-killing, becauſe I know it a techy ſubject, I ſhall wholly omit all diſcourſe of it; only I find it damn'd by an able Engliſh Divine as Jeſuiticall; and *Tacitus* commends to ſubjects rather *Fo. Goodwin* in his Anticavaleriſm.

rather *scutum* then *gladium*, the shield of patience and toleration, rather then the Sword.

Prin-

Principle IV.

The Politician must nourish some mercenary Jesuits, or other Divines to cry up his aymes in their Churches, that so the poyson may insinuate more generally into all the parts.

HE that peruses History, will find that there hath been no Innovation so grosse, no Rebellion so hideous, but hath had some Ecclesiasticall Fomentors: for such a

want worth enough of their own to reach preferment in a regular way are most apt to envy the just honours of better men; and despairing to obtain their end by learning and piety, they aspire to it by the crooked meanes of faction and schisme; nor are these despicable instruments to the Polititian; for the sharpest sword in his Army cannot vye services with a subtle quill: You may see his businesse in the Comick, γνάφων, βουλεύσων, καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ πολεμήσων. *Aristoph.*

1. The Jesuite reckons it

Concutiunt populos, vexant regna, solicitant bella, diruunt Ecclesias.

it in the number of his merits, if he may by any sinister wayes ruffle and disorder Hæretical kingdomes (so he calls them) encourage weak and unstable mindes to sleight Magistracy, irritate divisions, tumults, rebellions, absolve from oaths, and al sacred ties; so that it is hard to find any tragicall Scene, or bloody Theatre, into which the *Jesuite* hath not intruded and been as busie as *Davus* in the Comedy, contributing in a very high measure to every fanatick insolence, Justifying the old Lemma of

Loiola's

Loiola's picture, *Cavete vobis Principes*: These are the firebrands of *Europe*, the forge and Bellows of sedition, Infernall Emissaries, the Pests of the Age, men that live as if huge sinns would merit Heaven by an Antiperistasis.

2. Nor is any Nation without some turbulent spirits of its own, the dishonour of the Gown and Pulpit, the shame and sometimes the ruine of their Countrey; you would thinke they had their Text from a Gazet, because you heare so much of a Currant in

Classica canere.

the Application: that these may be fit implements for the Polititian, there are these requisite qualifications.

1. There must be a principall gift of wresting the Scripture, vexing & urging the holy Text, constraining it to patronize the design; the great Apostle expresses this in three very emphatical termes; 1. Cogging the die, making the Word speake what they list; 2. Crafty applications and expositions of it; 3. All the Methods and Arts of cousenage, ὡραιάζονται καὶ χρυσιάζονται λόγοι, gild-

Κυβεία Πανουργία μεθοδία πλάνης.

gilding and varnishing rotten doctrines, and this must be done.

1. In publick, vomiting out flames and sulphur from that sacred Pegma, where he should deliver none but mild & soft, (that is) Evangelical Embassages.

2. In private, at Parlour Sermons, and meeting houses, where he is listened to as an Oracle, and here commonly he is more Enthusiast than Scripturist, and his Auditors beleive his dreams to be as Canonical as the Revelation; like those *Melanchton* speakes of,

Evangeliophori.

Quicquid somniant volunt esse spiritum sanctum, or those that the Father chides, when he tels them that every whimsey is not Prophesie, Οὐ πᾶν ἐννύχιον εὐθὺς προφηνία.

3. He ought to be of some abilities in disputing, and what he wants in Logick, he must supply in Garrulity: for whatsoever he affirmes, the interest he hath in his seduc'd hearers improves into a Syllogisme; if you ask after his *Tophicks*, *Ex officinâ carnificum argumenta petit*: if after his *weapons*, *Armat se ad latrocinium per Christi nomen*,

Populi. ταχυπειθία.

St *Hierom Strada.*

men, and the wound he makes is faction; those consciences which will not surrender to his parly, his Master takes by storme: And thus he abuses Christ, by pretending his favour to unwarrantable Actions; he abuses his Prince, by alienating the affection and allegiance of his subjects; he abuses the Church, by shattring it into rents and schisms; wounding it with a feather from its own wing, snatching a Coale from the Altar, to fire both Church and State; and last ly he abuses himselfe,

Ecclesiæ nomine ar mamin contra Ecclesiam dimicatis. Aug.

for when the Polititian hath made his beſt uſe of his ſeditious ſpirit, hee leaves him to his owne wilde diſtempers, having directed his owne thoughts to another Goale.

Colaſte-

Colasterion.

ALthough we have caution enough againſt theſe in ſad and frequent experiences, theſe latter Ages groaning under the effects of an exorbitant Clergy; yet ſuch is the eaſineſſe and credulity of the vulgar, ſuch the ſubtlety and diſſembled ſanctity of the Impoſtor, that he meets with as great a proneneſſe in the people to be couſen'd, as he brings willingneſſe to delude; for it is a true Obſervation, that theſe

Clancular Sermocinators bear as great sway in popular mindes, and makes as deep impression upon their consciences, as the Loyolists doe, when they impose upon their blinde Laity.

I dare onely subjoyne these few advises.

First, I should suspect a Clericall Statist, I meane such a one as in the dispensation of Sacred Oracles, tampers with secular affaires, unless it be in case of high concernment to his Auditors soules.

Secondly, I should believe him a Jugler, that sprinkles

ſprinkles his Sermons with murmures againſt the lawfull Magiſtrate, Eccleſiaſticall or Civill, unleſs he hath ſome better ground for his diſlike, then a thwarting his humour, in things Controverſiall and Adiaphorous.

Thirdly, I ſhould more then doubt his knavery, that ſhould ſuborn Scripture, to atteſt, or incite to Illegall Actions, as akin to that, which *Salvian* calls *Religioſum ſcelus*.

4ly, All news in Religion, whether in Doctrine or Diſcipline, is the Καινοφωνία.

common skreen of private design; Let *Mæcenas* tell it, τοὺς δὲ ξενίζοντας τὸ περὶ τῆς εὐσέβειας, καὶ μίσει καὶ κόλαζε, πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀναπεύθουσιν ἀλλοτριονομεῖν. Which is noted by the great *Causabon* in his Epistle before his Baronian exercitations, thus; *Cupiditas novandi hæc secum mala semper trahit, Christi inconsutilem tunicam lacerat, sectas novas parit, & statim multiplicat, Ecclesiam & populum concutit*, &c.

Apud Dion. Cass.

'Tis sad to see *Urania*, divine *Urania* inroll'd in blood, the Stars and Luminaries of the Church, to shed such black and malignant

malignant influences; in lieu of pious documents, to hear none but furious incentives, *Ite alacres tantæque precor confidite Causæ*; The Cause they serve, is the doctrine and the use, the egg, the apple, the head and foot of all their discourses; if you like to confer notes, you may find a peice of their sermon in *Barclay* to this effect, *Se Evangelii libertatem prædicare, nullam Christianis animis vim inferre, suam cuique conscientiam liberam relinquere, verbo ducere, non vi quenquam adigere; eam esse Evangelii doctrinam,* Papirius. Con. Monarc. p. 32.

nam ut omnes conscientiæ fruantur libertate: sibique ut id liceat, votis omnibus postulare.

Principle V.

If ſucceſſe waits upon his Enterpriſes, he urges it to authenticate his cauſe.

THere is noe Argument more popular than ſucces, becauſe the bulke of men is not able to diſtinguiſh the permiſſion of God, from his approbation: And although it be in its ſelfe fallacious and feeble, yet the miſery of the conquer'd denies them the opportunity to diſpute it; for the oppoſition of the ſword will never be con-

confuted by the bare fist of Logick. Nor doth the Victor commonly permit any ventilation of his dictates, for when the body is a slave, why should the reason be free?

Philo Δοῦλος πέφυκας, οὐ μέτεστι σοὶ λόγου; as the souldiers in *Plutarch* wondred any would be so importunate to preach Laws, and Morall reasons to men with swords by their sides;

In Pompeio. Οὐ πώυσεσθε ὑμῖν ὑπεζωσμένοις ξίφη, νόμους ἀναγινώσκοντες.

As if Armes knew not how to descend to rationall inquiries, but were enough justified by an odd kinde of necessity

of

of their owne creating; like those in *Livy*, *In armis jus ferre, & omnia fortium virorum esse.*

I have often considered with my selfe, what should move Tyrants to print justifications of themselves, and assertions of their proceedings, which I suppose never made an understanding man a convert, nor met with a cordial reception in any; unlesse the abuse of a few, poore, shallow Beleivers, be thought a triumph worth their paines. I have sometimes thought they do by these papers please themselves

in

in their abilities to delude, and so gratifie their tyirannyover the noblest part of man, by denying the Liberty of the thought, and subduing the powers of the Soule to an implicit coherence with their own magisteriall opinions.

But our Polititian, by quoting the successe of his undertakings, besides the plausiblenes, and insinuating nature of the Proposition its self, hath the advantage of power to make us beleive him.

Nor is this bait contemptible, many of parts and prudence, yea and of

Re-

Religion, have been stagger'd by it; some question whether *Diagoras* deserv'd the brand of Atheisme, considering the wild conceits they then had of their Gods; or differ'd from the common Creed, crying out, O how the Gods favour sacriledge! when he had a merry gale, after a sacrilegious attempt. The best of the Roman Historians cals the victory, the just Arbitresse of the Cause, *eventus belli velut æquus Index, unde jus stat ei victoriam dabit*: So hard it is to perswade meer reason, that vertue may be

un-

unfortunate, and vic
happpy.

He was no ſmall Poe
that argued himſelfe ou
of his Gods, by ſeein
wickedneſſe honoured
& worth ſlighted: whic
he expreſſes thus;

—Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jac
at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo, quis putet eſſe Deo

In Engliſh.

Licinus does in marble ſleep,
A common Urne does *Cato* keep
Pompeys aſhes may catch cold,
That there are Gods, let Dorar
(hol

Hipp. There may be ſom
uſe made of that in *Sene*
ca, Honeſta quædam ſceler
ſuc-

succeſſus facit, proſperous miſchiefes are Cardinall vertues in the Worlds Ethics; and therefore the Tragedian repeats it, *Proſperum ac fælix ſcelus virtus vocatur*. The unwarrantableneſſe is hid and concealed in the glory of the ſucceſſe: wee often praiſe the Macedonian conqueſt, but ſeldome mention their boundleſſe and unjuſt ambition. *Herc. Fur.*

On the contrary, if an undertaking really good miſcarry, we cenſure it: ſo that according to the vogue of the world, 'tis the event that gives the colour

colour to the action, an
denominates it good o
Did. bad. Τὸ κρατῆσον τομῶμεν
τὸ ὀπολῳλὸς καταθρίχομεν.

Cola

Colasterion.

THere is some of this Leaven in the judgments of most, notwithstanding those brighter discoveries, in the Noon of Christianity we live under. A Bible throughly observ'd, would expound to us much of the riddle, and dark passages of providence: we are so short-sighted, that we cannot see beyond time, we value things, and men, by their temporall prosperities, and transient glories; whereas if we put

Eternity

Eternity into the othe
ſcale, it would much out
poiſe that worldly Lu
ſtre, that ſo much abuſe
our eye, and couſens ou
underſtandings.

I finde not in holy wri
that God hath inſepara
bly annex'd goodnes an
greatneſs, juſtice and vi
ctory: He hath ſecur'
his ſervants of the felici
ties of a better life, bu
not of this. Chriſt
Kingdome was not, ou
happineſſe is not of th
World.

Nor doth my Bibl
ſhew me any warrant fo
appeal to heaven for th
deciſion of this or th
intricacy

intricacy: by bestowing successe upon this party, or that cause, according to its righteousnesse, and due merit. There is a vast difference betwixt ἀτύχημα and ἀδίκημα. even in Scripture construction.

The great Turk may justly exult, and prune himselfe in discourses of this nature, if they be once admitted, & own'd by Christians: And I shall forbeare any longer to think *Mahomet* an Impostor, and must receive the *Alchoran* for Gospel; if I shall be convinc'd that temporall happiness

and

and triumph, are a true Index of divine favour. Our religion hath something more to invite our closure with it; it proposes a conveniency on earth, but the Crowns & Garlands are reserv'd for Heaven.

ὁ πλοῦτος. The Mony-God in *Aristophanes* pretends a command from *Jupiter* to distribute as great a Largesse to the wicked, as to the good; because if vertue should once impropriate riches, that fair Goddess would be more wooed for her Dowry, than for her native beauty: So if Religion were attended

attended with thoſe outward Allurements that moſt take the ſenſes; we ſhould be apt to follow Chriſt for the loaves, and over-look the ſpirituall charmes, and more noble ends of Chriſtianity.

The Heathen could ſay, *Fœlix prædo mundo exemplum inutile*, Happy Pyracy is a thing of unhappy preſidency; Fortunate ſinnes may prove dangerous temptations; But to ſay that God doth ſignally atteſt the actions of ſuch a perſon, or the juſtice of ſuch a cauſe, by permitting it to proſper and taper up in the

world; is such a deceit, as deserves our serious abhorrency—— I leave it with *Ovids* wish,

——*Careat successibus opto,*
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

Prin-

Principle VI.

The Polititian must change with the times.

Comin. 170

THAT Alterations and Revolutions in Kingdomes are the rods with which God scourges miscarrying Princes, is resolved by my Lord of *Argenton*: to which may be added out of *Aristotle* in the fift of his Politicks —— *per fraudem & dolum regna evertuntur*, That the ruines of a Kingdome are often derived from fraud

and ſubtleties: I ſhall omit inquiry into other Cauſes, as forrein to my preſent purpoſe.

The Politician knows beſt how to improve theſe popular Guſts, because hee cauſed them. ſuch a ſtorme is his ſeed-time. 'Tis the boaſt of a Dutch-man, that hee can ſaile with all winds; the aſpiring man obſerves the quarter whence the faireſt gales of preferment blow, and ſpreads the ſailes of his Ambition to entertaine them: nor can the compaſſ breath more varieties the his dextrous ſoul hath

changes and garbs, and ſuitable compliances.

What the Orator cals his top and perfection, to make happy application to the ſeverall humours and genius of all ſorts of men, qualifying his addreſſe with what he knowes will moſt charm the perſon he treats; that the Polititian does not only with his lip, but life, you may finde all thoſe Figures and Tropes digeſted into his actions, and made practicall, that are in the other only vocall.

He remembers that of an Engliſh Marqueſſe

(*Paw'et* of *Wincheſter*) who having ſucceſfully ſerved four Princes, and ſtill in the ſame room of favour, unſhaken with the viciſſitudes he had run through; being ask'd by one, by what meane he preſerv'd his fortune, he replies, that he was made, *ex ſalice, non ex quercu*, of the pliant willow, not ſtubborn Oak, alwaies of the prevailing Religion, and a zealous profeſſor. This eaſi eſſe and bending is of abſolute neceſſity; for, if the ſame temper, which inſinuated in violent times were retained in a com-

Nantons *Regalia.*

poſed

poſed and ſetled government, it would be altogether diſtaſtfull and ſo on the contrary.

Therefore if Religion be faſhionable, you can ſcarce diſtinguiſh him from a Saint: He does not only reverence the holy Miniſters, but if need be he can preach himſelfe: If cunctation prevailes, he acts *Fabius*: If the buckler muſt be chang'd for a ſword, he perſonates *Marcellus*: If mildeneſſe be uſefull, *Soderini* of *Venice* was not more a lamb then he: If ſeverities are requiſite, *Nero's* butcheries are ſanctities com-

pared with his: As *Alcibiades* in *Plutarch*, shifted disposition as he alter'd place (being voluptuous and jovial in *Ionia*, frugal & retir'd in *Lacedæmon*) so he proportions himself to time, place, person, Religion, with such a plausibleness, as if he had been born onely to serve that opinion, which he Harbour'd but as a guest whilst it continued in fway: having a room in his heart, if occasion be, to lodge the contrary, and to cry it up with as much ardour, as he once us'd to extoll the former. And thus like a

ſubtle *Proteus*, he aſſumes that ſhape that is moſt in grace, and of moſt profitable conducement to his ends, *In eo ſtant conſilia, quod ſibi conducere putat.*

Hee abounds in that which *Varro* cals, *verſatile ingenium*, a voluble wit, like the changling derided by *Plautus*, as more turning then a Potters wheele.

Rota figulari verſatilior.

He hath this advantage of the Camelion, that he can aſſume whiteneſs; for I finde him often wearing the veſt of innocency, to conceale the uglineſſe and blackneſſe of his attempts.

Finally, he is the Heliotrope to the Sun of Honour, and hath long since abjur'd his God, Religion, Conscience, and all that shall interpose, and skreen him from those beams, that may ripen his wishes and aymes into enjoyments.

Colaste

Colasterion.

BUt the true Statesman is inviolably constant to his Principles of vertue and religious prudence; his ends are noble, and the means he uses innocent: he hath a single eye on the public good; and if the ship of the State miscarry, he had rather perish in the wrack, than preserve himselfe upon the plank of an in-glorious subterfuge. His worth hath led him to the Helme, the Rudder he uses, is an honest and vigorous wisdome

dome, the Star he looks to for direction is in Heaven; and the port he aymes at, is the joynt welfare of Prince and people.

This constancy is that solid Rock upon which the wise Venetian hath built its long liv'd Republic: So that it is not improbable the Maiden-Queene borrowed her Motto of *semper eadem*, from this Maiden Commonwealth.

'Tis true, something is to be conceded to the place, and time, and persons; & I grant that there are many innocent compliances;

pliances; *Virgils Obliqua-re ſinus*, is obſervable, there may be a bending without a crookedneſſe: We may *circumire* and yet not *aberrare*; *Paul* became a Jew, that hee might gaine the Jewes, but he did not become a ſinner, that he might gain ſinners; He was made all things to all men, but he was not made ſin to any: that is, his condiſcenſions were ſuch, as did wel conſiſt with his Chriſtian integrity.

Greatneſſe, and Honours, and Riches, and Scepters, thoſe glorious temptations, that ſoe much

much inamour the do
ting world, are too poo
ſhrines to ſuch a ſacrific
as conſciences, which th
Polititian hath ſo muc
abus'd by an inveterat
neglect, that it is be
come menſtruous, an
Ephemerall.

Prin

Principle VII.

If the Politician find reason to impose oaths, Let them be of such ambiguity as may furnish with a sense obliging to the design, and yet so soft as the people may not feel the snare.

IT appeares by sad experience, that in propounding of oaths, requiring premises, and other solemn Tyes; there have been multitudes induced to bind themselves upon some secret Loeos, and mentall reservation; wch they

much inamour the do
ting world, are too poo
ſhrines to ſuch a ſacrific
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Prin-

Principle VII.

If the Polititian find reason to impose oaths, Let them be of such ambiguity as may furniſh with a ſenſe obliging to the deſign, and yet ſo ſoft as the people may not feel the ſnare.

IT appeares by ſad experience, that in propounding of oaths, requiring premiſes, and other ſolemn Tyes; there have been multitudes induced to bind themſelves upon ſome ſecret Loeos, and mentall reſervation; wch they

they have framed to themſelves as a *ſalvo* in caſe of breach, ſo apt we are in affaires of greateſt importance, to adviſe more with corrupt wit than ſound conſcience.

In the Catalogue of ſelf-deluſions, you may poſſibly finde theſe;

1. We are ready to interpret the words too kindly, eſpecially if they be ambiguous; and 'tis hard to find terms ſo poſitive, but that they may be eluded indeed, or ſeem to us to be ſo, if we be diſpoſed.

2. Some are invited to illicite promiſes *quæ illicit*,

illicit, because they know them to be invalid.

3. Some are frighted into these bonds by threats, and losses, and temporal concernments, and then they please themselves that they sweare by Duress, and so are disingaged.

4. Some are oath-proofe, I mean there are such fear-soul'd men as will sweare *Pro* and *Con*.

5. Some have learn'd from the *Civilians*, that though wee sweare to a thing not materially unlawfull, yet if it impedes a greater morall good, it becomes void. Grot. *de jur. belli*, 245.

Some take Liberty to ſweare, becauſe they judge the perſon to whom they ſweare incapable of an oath: as *Cicero* defends the breach of oath to a Theif, from perjury:, and *Brutus* to a Tyrant: as it is in *Appian*

οὐδὲν πιστὸν ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τυράννους, οὐδ' ἔνορκον.

The firſt ſort of theſe fals moſt properly under the notice, and practiſe of our Polititian; though he may alſo uſe the laſt, but at different times.

It is not difficult for him to caſt his deſire into ſuch ſoft glib expreſſion as will down with moſt:

Yea,

Yea, with many that would absolutely disavow the same thing in rough Language, if he be unskil'd in this black art, I commend him to the Pædagogy of the *Delphick* Devill.

Now it is most certaine, there is no other tye of such security and establishment to a person that hath ravished greatness and acquired it by violence. Vsurpation hath only these two pillars, its owne Armes and Militia, and publike oath and acknowledgement; and it is scarce worth Quærie whether, when the

the Groſſe of a nation is thus bound, the Oath be not as valid, and the conſcience as much concerned as if it had beene ſworn to a lawful Prince. It is reaſonable that an uſurping power cannot upon any prudent perſwaſion have the ſame confidence in the love of the people that a Juſt hath: Nor is the following government inticing, as *Tacitus* notes, *Nec quiſquam imperium malis artibus quæſitum benè adminiſtravit.*. The ſame with *Guazzo*, where one objecting the vices of Princes receives this anſwer,

De civil converſe. l.2.p.132.

Per-

Perchè non erano Prencipi per natura, ma per violenza, & erano più temuti che amati: And therefore if the Politítian can by the bleſſed meanes forementioned gaine a ſuperiority, there is no truſting to thoſe ingenuous Guards, his own goodneſſe and the love of others: His beſt defence is awe, and feare, and Scaffold, and Gibbet, and the like. For he that hath noe voluntary roome in the hearts of his people, muſt uſe all meanes to gaine a coercive.

For his own promiſes hee puts them into the ſame

ſame bottomleſſe bag, which the Poets ſay *Jupiter* made for lovers aſſeverations: His word is as good as his oath, for they are both trifles, as it is in *Plautus*.

Mulular. —— *Pactum non pactum eſt, non pactum pactum eſt, cum illis Lubet.*

'Twas he that firſt invented that uſefuldiſtinction of a Lip-oath, and a heart-Oath; You may find him in *Euripides*.

Jurata lingua eſt, mente jurav inihil.

He makes good uſe of

Apoph. that in *Plutarch*, τὰς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις δεῖν ἐξαπατᾶν, τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ὅρκοις,

that

that children are to be couſn'd with rattles, and men with oathes.

'Tis an huge advantage that man hath in a credulous world, that can eaſily ſay and ſweare to any thing; and yet withall ſo palliate his falſifications and perjuries, as to hide them from the conuſance of moſt; The Polititian muſt be furniſhed with handſome refuges, that may ſeemingly heal miſcarriages this way. Hee need not ſpend much time in inquiry after ſuch helps; theſe declining ages will abundantly furniſh his invention.

Colaſte-

Colasterion.

AN Oath is in its self a religious affirmation, a promise with Gods seale; And therefore it concernes Christians to be cautelous before swearing, to swear Liquidly, and to observe conscionably: 'Tis pity such slender Evasion should satisfie us, as have bin scorn'd by heathen. We are bound (saies some of them) to the sense of the imposer, or else we are bound, we are bound to the performance of what we have sworne, else

elſe we do ἐπορκεῖν: 'Tis much, that a morall conſcience ſhould more check them, than a clearer light can aweus: As if they more honour'd the Genius of a *Caeſar*, than wee revere the preſence of a God: or elſe we ſhould never ingage in new proteſtations, that do interfere, yea, and ſomtimes poſitively quarrell with old. They had their θεοὶ ἐπίορκοι, their perjury-revenging Gods; to whoſe vindictive powers they referr'd their offenders: they puniſh'd ſuch as ſwore falſely by their Prince with fuſtigation;

But such as abus'd their Gods, were left to the dispose of their injur'd Deities, as if they were at a loss how to finde a punishment equall to the sinne. Hear how soberly *Plato* mentions it (out of the noble Commentator upon *Philostratus*) *Entre tes manieres Sù est è un fort belle ordinance & institution, de n' user point du nom des Dieux Legerement, de peur de Les contaminer; car la Majestè des Dieux ne se doit imployer, qù' en une saincte & venerabile pureté*. See what reall honour they gave to their counterfeit Gods: Let us have

a care that we ascribe not counterfeit honour to the true God.

Our God hates every false Oath: It appears in his severity to *Zedekiah*, for breaking Covenant with the *Babylonian* Monarch, though a Tyrant of the first magnitude. *Causabon* exercitat. 202.

Were all Subjects duly solicitous about the weight of this bond, we should be less prone to take, and more studious to observe it; I remember the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, derives ὅρκος παρὰ τὸ εἴργω, τὸ συγκλείω, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἕρκος, ὅτι εἴργει τὸν ὀρκούμενον, It hedges in and p. 848.

ſhuts up a man, and ties his hands behind him; I know not how ſome Conquerours may cut this knot with the ſword; or how ſome *Sampſons* may ſhake off theſe cords; or what gaps the Licentious may make in this hedge; But ſuch as value God, or Heaven, or Prince, or Peace, can diſcover it no way better than in a ſincere uſe of ſo divine an Ordinance.

There can be no certain rule given, when to beleeve, and when not, what ſuch as are, or would be great, pleaſe to inculcate to us: I finde more

wracks

wracks upon the rock of credulity: and 'tis no hæresie to affirm, that many have been saved by their infidelity; I commend that of *Epicharmus*,

Νάφος καὶ μέμνασο ἀπιστεῖν.

Principle VIII.

Necessity of State, is a very competent Apology for the worst of Actions.

IT has been observ'd, that in all Innovations and Rebellions (which ordinarily have their rise from pretences of Religion, or Reformation, or both) the breach and neglect of Laws hath been authorised by that great Patroness of Illegal Actions---Necessity.

ἐνθεὸς ἀνάγκη; *sæva necessitas.*

Now the Polititian is never without such an Advocate as this; For he cares

cares not to distinguish whether the necessity be of his own creating, or no, as for the most part it is; being indeed an Appendix to the wrong he undertakes: and signifies no more, then that he is compelled to cover wrong with wrong, as if the commission of a second sin were enough to justifie the first.

He changes that old charitable advise---- *Benefacta benefactis aliis pertegito nè perpluant*; into *vitia vitiis aliis pertegito nè perpluant*: that so heaping one crime upon another, the later may

defend the former from the ſtroke of juſtice.

He adores that Maxime in *Livy*, *Juſtum eſt bellum quibus neceſſarium, & pia arma quibus in armis ſpes eſt*: It were very incongruous to deſire that man to leave his crutch, that cannot walk without; 'tis no leſſe unnaturall to invite him to quit his ſword, whoſe life and fortune leans intirely upon it.

If he can inſinuate the ſcope of the War to be Legall, a little dawbing will ſerve to Legalize the circumſtances: that of the Civilians muſt be re-

remembred--- *Licere in bello quæ ad finem sunt necessaria*, the Oracles of the gown, are too tender for sword-men; and it may be he had wit in his anger, who affirmed, that Martiall Law was as great a Solecisme, as Martiall peace. Victor. de Jure Belli, nu. 18, 39.

If the people be once possest that his aime and intention is fair; they will never expect that the *Media*, for attainment of his end, should be retrench'd by the strict Boundaries of Law: He manages that rule very practically, *Rem alicnam, ex quâ certum mihi peri-*

cultum eminet, citra culpæ alienæ consideracionem invadere possum; Now he can very plausibly make this *periculum, certum*, or *incertum*, as shall best suit with his affairs.

De jure Belli, l. 424. 'Tis a broad Liberty that *Grotius* concedes, *Quare si vitam aliter servare non possum, licet mihi vi qualicunque arcere, eum qui eam impetit, licet peccato vacet; & hoc ex jure quod mihi pro me natura concedit.* *Macb. on Liv. 627.* When Life, and Liberty, and safety come in question, there ought no consideration to be had of just or unjust, pitifull or cruell, honourable

rable or dishonourable: Now when the people have according to his desire got over the great obstacle, and digested the plot for pious; it is easie to set all future proceedings upon the score of Liberty, Safety, Religion: And if he be constrained to use means grosly unlawfull, 'tis but to make them seem holy in the application, and all's well; For it is the humour and genius of the vulgar, when they have once rush'd into a party implicitly, to prosecute it as desperately, as if they were under demon-

monſtrative convictions of its juſtice.

Finally, He muſt make a vertue of Neceſſity, becauſe there is no other vertue will ſo eaſily be induc'd to ſerve his proceedings as this; ſhe may well ſmile upon Licentiouſneſs, who hath her ſelf no Law.

Colaſte-

Colaſterion.

LEt that great Rule be received, that no man can be neceſſitated to ſinne: Our Divines generally damn an officious Lye; and the equity bindes from any officious ſinne.

It would ſoon cut the nerves of the eighth Commandement, If Neceſſities and urgencies, though reall, were pronounc'd a ſufficient excuſe for ſtealing. But that which our Polititian calls Neceſſity, is no more than neceſſity of convenience,

nience, not so much, except we interpret the convenince, which may favour his own ends, and so is convenient for his design. He uses Necessity as the old Philosophers did an occult quality, though to a different purpose; that was their refuge for ignorance, this is his sanctuary for sin.

Less. l. 11. c. 12. Dub. 12. nu 70. Those Civilians that are most charitable to Necessity, make it no plea at all except it be absolute and insuperable; as by the Platonic Laws only those persons are allowed to drink at their Neighbours Well, that had

had in vaine sought a Spring, by digging fifty cubits deep in their own ground. We allow the disburdening of a Ship in imminent perill of wrack; But this will not excuse those, who upon a fond or feigned prevision of a State-tempest, shall immediately cast Law and conscience overboard; Discard, and quit Rudder and steerage, and so assist the danger, they pretend to fear.

Pausanias tells of a Chappell in *Acrocorinth*, dedicated to Necessity and violence; those Twin-Goddesses may be fit ob- *Celius Rhodig.* 1025.

jects

jects for the worship of Heathens; but 'tis pity they should be so much adored by Christians.

If I mistake not, the fundamentall deceit lyes in a greedy entertaining those first pretences, and seemingly candid Propositions are made to us before they have pass'd those scrutinies, and severe inquiries they deserve; or been examined by the test of Gods word, and Nationall Lawes: All the rest are but ugly consequences of that absurdity, we first granted, according to the ancient Philosophic Maxime,

ime; Ἑνὸς Ἀτόπου δοθέντος, πολλὰ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ συμβαίνειν.

Prin-

Principle IX.

The Polititian must wave all relations, both Sacred and Civill, and swim to his design, though in a Sea of bloud.

SUch as study to be great by any means must by all means forget to be good; and they that will usurp Dominion over others, must first become slaves to the worst of Tyrants, a lust after greatness.

Crescit interea Roma Albæ ruinis, begins one of the Decads, that the walls of

of *Rome* were cemented with bloud, is known and commended by *Machiavel*; Although the superstructure was brave, yet if we search the foundation, we shall finde it laid in the red ruines of her wasted neighbours; That the first Founder became a fratricide upon reason of State, to guard his new Conquest, by freedom from a Competitor; is not only vindicated from cruelty, but asserted to be a piece of meritorious policy: Nor did this happen to the City in its structure alone, but after in its reparation; when the

Upon Livy l. 2. c. 3. *Thebe maritum, Timoleon fratrem, Cassius filium hoc jure interfecere.*

the Sons of *Brutus* wer
sacrific'd to the design o
their Father: So th
Rome was not only nurs
with bloud, but als
growth and ripeness
she sustained her sel
lived and thrived upo
*Magna & sanguinolen
latrocinia*; so that n
Politician can scar
want examles in the ap
plauded actions of th
City, to patronize th
most crimson and ska
let sin, that ambition ca
prompt.

He admires the ge
nerosity of *Nero*'s Mo
ther, who is reported
to have said of her sonne,

'Am

Ἀποκτεινάτω με, μόνον βασιλευέτω, Let my Son be my murderer, so hee may be a Monarch; According to the advice of an high-spirited fury, *Pro Regno velim patriam, penates, conjugem flammis dare, Imperia pretio quolibet constant bene*; An Empire cannot be purchased too dear, though it cost the bloud of Millions.

He is much taken with the Gallantry of the *Mammalukes*, who abused the easinesse of the Egyptian *Sultan*, and wore the Supremacy three hundred years, upon the length and keenness of

an usurping Sword.

And rather than want a bongrace, he commends the *Ottoman* wisedom, for the great Turk rives himself to the Imperial Chair, with the bones of his murdered Brethren. Aspiring desires are not only insatiate, but admit of any sin, that will promote their ends: See *Basilianus* murthering his Brother *Geta* in his Mothers armes; *Andronicus* strangling his Cousin *Alexius*, lest he should have a part in the Empire that had right to all: See *Cæsar* slighting the Oaths by which he had

obliged

obliged his obedience to the *Roman* Senate.

Finally, Ambition knows no confinement, nothing so sacred but it violates. The Gods must bow and yeeld to it, as *Tertullian*, *Id negotium sine Deorum injuriâ non est, eadem strages manium & Templorum, tot sacrilegia Romanorum, quot trophæa, tot de Diis quot de Gentibus Triumphi.* In Apologet.

Prin-

Colasterion.

THe Italian Politician seems to intimate a scruple, when he saies, *---Si jus violandum est, regnandi causâ violandum est*, His (If) dictates, an uncertainty; and if we appeal to the bar, of Nature or Divinity, (though possibly the entire assertion may have something of truth) yet we shall finde that wicked (If) absolutely banished.

'Tis true, we may more justly pity him, that swallows a bait fair and glistring, than a person

on that tempts temptations to deceive him; or catches at flies, and trifling allurements, because in the first case a greater reluctancy is requisite, and the dart may possibly be so sharp, as to pierce through the Armour of a sober Resolution; But all this will little succour him, who knows it to be a bait, and hath beforehand design'd its beauty, and fairness, to apologize for the foulness of the sin: for here the greatness of the Temptation will not at all extenuate the grossness of the crime: No more than he

mitigates his robbery, who shall plead, that he stole nothing but gold and jewels.

The world is much mistaken in the value of a Scepter or Crown; we gaze upon its brightness, and forget its brittleness, we look upon its glory, and forget its frailty; we respect its colour, and take no notice of its weight. But of all those gay things which we fondly fancy to our selves were really to be found in Greatness, yet still he payes too dear, that pawns his Heaven for it; he that thus buyes a short

bliſſe, gives not twenty, or an hundred years purchaſe, but, (if mercy prevents not,) Eternity.

It will be little advantage here, to introduce the example of a Roman, or Turk, or Chriſtian, if unlawfull; ſuch preſidents may perchance baffle the Vulgar, (in whoſe Creed you may inſert what you pleaſe,) but will be very cold anſwers, when we appear before a ſevere Tribunall: It concerns us rather to obſerve how ambition claimes kindred with every other vice; ſtoopes, and takes up every ſin

lies in its way; and, if upon enquiry we finde it to be indeed such a complicated mischief, it will become us studiously to shun it our selves, and seriously to detest it in others.

Prin-

Principle X.

A general Innovation, contributes much to the growth and security of Usurpation.

WE may receive this as a Tradition, handed to us from the great Patriarchs of Policy, attested by the practice of the subtilest times; I presume it may be grounded upon these, or the like Perswasions.

1. Because such an Innovation raises the dust, and begets a cloud for the main design, for when the waters are troubled, 'tis

hard to see the bait.

2. Because the Parenthesis betwixt an old and new Government, flatters the hopes of all parties, soothing those desires that are for a relapse into the old, and yet incouraging those that wish for the establishment of a new.

3. Because when all things are reduced into Chaos and rude heaps, when all the lines and Lineaments of the former Government are blotted out, that which is new written will be more legible, and the old soone forgotten: for suppose a Kingdom made a Lump

with

without ſhape and void, and it is like *materia prima*, prone to imbrace any form; when an Inſtrument is diſtun'd you may ſet it to what key you pleaſe; and he that cannot ſometimes looſen the ſtrings, will never make good Muſick upon *Syneſius* his Harp.

4. Becauſe by new moulding of Juriſdictions, and offices of State, there may be a fair opportunity offered, of gratifying thoſe that have ſerv'd us; and for others its very familiar to ſee ſome ſtubborn and rigid opiniators, who have

continued long unshaken either by threat or argument, at length to surrender their Principles, and bow the knee before the Pagan of Honour and Riches; such is the flexanimous power of golden eloquence, as it is in the *Adage*,

πὼ Αρεπὼ ϗ πὼ σοφίαν νικῶσι χελῶναι.

Besides, we can find no better way to breed an absolute dependance, and make others adhere to our fortunes, than by winding the concernments of other men, upon the same bottom with our Interest; we may observe

serve this [illegible] the practice of great favourites, who always delight in these Props, and are carefull to set up whole Tribes in the room of favour.

5. Because such a general Deordination gives a taste and Reliſh to the ſucceeding Government, though in its ſelf not ſo delectable, for *Ariſtotle* notes, that Democracy is better than Anarchy.

There are many other advantages to be made by a due improvement of theſe turbid intervals; as the occaſion of ſubdividing, and parcelling out

your great end, for by this means they which refuſed to cloſe with it in groſſe, will receive it in retaile: and having entertained ſome portions of it, the grudge they bore to the whole will be by degrees quieted and appeas'd.

Beſides, when all things are ruffled and confus'd, it is then the Devils Holy-day, and therefore our work-day: The noiſe is ſo loud, that it drowns the voice of the Law; and there may be ſome truth in his waggery, who ſaid, That ſuch as mean to commit a Rape

upon

upon the Body politick must put out the Laws; as others upon a like occasion use to put out the Lights.

Finally, if we ever hope to sin with Impunity, to usurp prosperously, or to govern Arbitrarily: we must take out that Lesson in *Plautus*,

Idem facere, quod plurimi alii, quibus Res timida aut Turbida est; Pergunt turbare usque, ut ne quid possit conquiescere.

Cola-

Colasterion.

'TIs most certain, that siniſter ends are promoted by Innovations; but it lies in our boſomes to promote or quench the Innovations themſelves, which we can no way better do, than by a ſtrict adherence to the Laws, for as long as we maintain them, they will maintain us: If we obſerve theſe, it will reſcue us from the hands of State-Novelliſts; for we are not fit for their turns, till we are croſs-byaſſed with faction.

As

As a caution againſt changes in Government, give me leave to repeate, what was long ſince told us by an ingenious Lord ---That all great mutations are dangerous; even where what is introduc'd by that mutation, is ſuch as would have been very profitable upon a primary foundation: and it is none of the leaſt dangers of change, that all the perils and inconveniences which it brings cannot be forc-ſeen; and therefore ſuch as make title to wiſedom, will not undergo great dangers, but for great neceſſities. *Faulkland.*

But further, let me appeal to generall experience, yea, let me ask thee (Reader) if thou haſt never before heard, or read of a Nation, that was once the gaze and envy of its Neighbours; and yet being inſenſible of its happineſs, or poſſeſt with fond hopes of bettering its condition, has cloſed with pretended friends, and reall enemies, and gladly contributed to its own ruine.

So apt men are to catch at the ſhadow, though they hazard the ſubſtance: we may gueſſe at the Morall of the frogs

in

in the fable; who could finde no satisfaction in a still Prince, and were after forced to abide the severities of a Tyrant they prayed for.

But if there be such distempers in a State, as shall necessarily require amendment; Let it be done with the pruning-hook of the Law, and not with the sword of violence: For I never read, that Illegall, or Tumultuous, or Rebellious, were fit Epithets for Reformation. And 'tis fit Christians should forbear the use of such surly Physick, till they have levied

levied a Fine in the Court of Heaven, and cut off the Intaile of the seventh Beatitude.

This may suffice to reveale in some measure, *Arcanum Ambitionis*, ὑπερηφανίας μυστήριον. I could adde much more, but that I judge it a fitter task for our Nephewes, when Pens shall be infranchised.

And now (Reader) let us mix our prayers, that God would for ever banish this cursed Policy out of *Europe*, and the whole Christian world; and damn it down to hell, from whence originally

nally it came; and let such as delight to abuse others, think of that self-cousenage, with which in the interim they abuse themselves; God permitting the Devill to revenge the Imposture. And whilst we are busie with politic stratagems, and tortious Armes to invade the rights of others, Let us also consider that this is not the violence which takes Heaven.

Let it be a piece of our daily Oraisons, that God would guard our Pulpits from such Boutefeus, as like *Etna* and *Vesuvius*, belched

belched out nothing but flames, and fiery discourses; using the Scripture as preposterously and impertinently, as some Pontificians, who transported with the vehemence of Hildebrandian zeal, think the temporall Monarchy of Popes sufficiently Scriptural, from the saying of Christ to *Peter---Pasce oves*. Farre be it from us to intitle the Spirit of God to exorbitant doctrines, it is easie to distinguish the Vulture from the Dove. The miscarriages of the Clergy have a deeper stain from the sacredness of

of their function, as probably he that invenomed the Eucharist has the more to answer for his Triple Crown.

It is manifest that we are fallen into the dregs of Time; we live in the rust of the Iron Age, and must accordingly expect to feel *Ultima senescentis mundi deliria*, the dotages of a decrepit world: What is become of truth, sincerity, charity, humility, those *Antiqui mores*, whither are they gone? did they attend *Astræa* into heaven? and have left such degenerous successors, as cruelty, pride,

pride, fraud, envy, oppression, &c? such qualities as abundantly justifie the worst of Heathens, and dishonour the name of Christians: I think it may safely be affirmed, That if a new *Europæ Speculum* were sincerely written, it might be contracted into this short Summary;

Trium-mus.

Novi ego hoc sæculum quibus moribus sit; Malus bonum, malum esse vult, ut sit sui similis; turbant, miscent, mores mali; Rapax, Avarus, Invidus, sacrum prophanum, publicum privatum habebit; Hiulca Gens, &c.

That

THat eternall Majesty, which raised so brave a Fabrick, out of such indisposed materials; that wields the world with his finger, ever since it was made; that controules the wave, and checks the tumult of the people: that sits above, and laughs at the malignant counsels, and devices of wicked men: Let his mercy be implored for the speedy succour of his distressed Church; That the Rod of *Aaron* may blossome; That the Tabernacle of *David* may be raised; That the subtle

may

may be caught in their own snares; And that the Result of all afflictions, may be the greatning his glory, and exalting of his Scepter.

A 942.

FINIS.